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§63 This anecdote illustrates nicely that obedience is expected and that
135 disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely
helpless in the face of what it considers ill treatment. The possibility of
running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is
one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the
§82 flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society
371 that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability
to function economically and ceremonially. It can result in some cases,
of which Mangena is one (see his autobiography), in extreme fluidity of
residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system
of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the
disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap be-
tween theory and practice in community life.

STATUS

§67 It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a
150 sense of being undervalued from the lack of provision for feeding them
and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat.
Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's prop-
erty are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of un-
worthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against
the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold
a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by
stating that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but com-
pared with girls, and even women, they are not.

§53 However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made
to feel his status. Sometimes contemptuously and sometimes as a matter
of fact, adults say, "He is only a child; he doesn't think yet." A com-
parable comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equiva-
lent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is
still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling
bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that
to call an adult a child (*mokn*) is a great insult, because, as it was ex-
plained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing,
has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.

§51 Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a
§85 sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to
enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is
pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has chil-
dren. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an
important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

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to those of her husband, this was a singularly loyal and romantic state- 534
ment on the girl's part.

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to give a simplified picture 531
of what marriage means financially, how young men enter the game, and the kinds of human involvements that may result. From even this brief résumé of the situation it becomes evident how firmly wealth and marriage, sex and frustration must merge in the minds of young Atimelangers.

ROMANCE AND SEX IN MARRIAGE

That there is such a thing as romantic love is evident from the foregoing. However, it is equally evident that this is not the term in which the institution is phrased by the culture. In this, of course, the Atimelangers reverse our romantic formulation of marriage. I have the impression that a stubborn romantic attachment like Stefaka's is a definite liability, since it makes him more susceptible to financial pressure.

In discussing the sexual and romantic aspects of courting and mar- 534
riage it is worth noting how consistently the men's autobiographies report that women took the initiative. It is often they who suggest that tokens such as shawls, bracelets, and the like be exchanged. It is the girls who are supposed to ask men for areca, which is symbolic at least of friendship, and often of actual courting. They flock as eagerly as boys to the all-night dances, which often offer excellent opportunities for finding [535]
partners. Dances consist of a circle of people standing close and moving sidewise with arms thrown over each other's shoulders or around the partners' waists. There is every opportunity to select the partner of one's choice and to have close physical contact with him. The men, in speaking of marriage, often present themselves as passive pawns of women's or older men's designs. Such a picture might be more convincing if it were substantiated by the women's autobiographies and if the flirting, philandering, and recriminations of everyday life did not in part contradict it. The actual situation probably varies with individuals. The point to be noted is that initiative in contracting a marriage is not even theoretically denied to women.

In both sexes the striking thing brought out in the autobiographies is 584
the ease with which loved persons may be surrendered. It is a character 593
trait consistent with the supposition made at the end of the section on 571
late childhood, namely, that there are few opportunities in Atimelang life for the establishment of secure and permanent relationships and little expectation of, or insistence upon, them. This is far from saying 713
that they never occur. There are several couples who have established 575
what would be considered in any culture devoted and lasting marital

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ordered his kinsmen to fetch his son and tie him up. The son, unwilling to submit to this humiliation, seized himself and was prepared to fight. Rather than precipitate violence his father dropped the matter. The young man then left his father and went to live in his mother's village, where he married. After his father's death he returned to his own village and gave his father's death feasts. Even after the father's death, marriage to a stepmother would be considered incestuous. The clarification offered was, "He is the one who must give her death feasts, so it is just as though she were his real mother."

This material on incest is obviously trivial. It was practically impossible to get data, not because the informants seemed shocked, but rather because they showed so little interest and had so little to say about it. The myths and autobiographies are similarly lacking in this theme. Rilpeda's dreams and some slender data on Mangora might be interpreted as showing more interest in sisters than in other women. Similarly some of the women's autobiographies indicate marked attachments to brothers. I am quite sure there was no conscious and overt awareness of incestuous attachments in the informants, and their attitudes did not seem to exceed the culturally prescribed loyalty and solidarity between siblings.

In the poorly known and varied origin myths there are some implications of brother-sister incest, but again it is not emphasized. In two versions of a myth dealing with the creation of man, Manimosi and his sister Tilumosi came down to earth from above, but the stories then continued with Manimosi's activities as a culture hero, and Tilumosi dropped out completely. In another origin tale, Manimosi and Tilumosi were two of a number of children begotten by Fuilasi and the village guardian spirit. They did not marry. In a quite different type of origin tale, two pairs of brothers and sisters met and established the village of Bakudatang with its two lineage houses. One of the pairs had no mother or father and was supposed to have emerged from a cave. They married and bore children, who intermarried with the offspring of the other pair of brother-sister spouses. The whole tale is obviously fragmentary and is not widely known in Atimelang.

The significance of this lack of interest in the incest motif may be explicable in terms of the general thesis so far presented. If human relationships are on the whole shallow and impermanent, there is less likelihood of incestuous fixations, and when they do occur, they do not touch off a problem common to the majority of the people in the group, so that the chances may well be that even incest themes in introduced origin tales are largely otiose.

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SATELLITES

336 It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descrip-
577 tions of various wealth activities. The aim of the foregoing pages has
184 been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and humility and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provoke extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to underwrite an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

336 From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages
671 stood out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no word to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servitors of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help dance in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

961 This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a
556 show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Visiting, dining, talking, and chewing areca are the only physical exertions worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor
[961] makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the
559 young. Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with
662 the powerful man to whom they are attached. In return for their assist-
671 ance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

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possible to give any numerical estimate of this group since their membership relationships are so shifting. A man might be willing to assume a semi-filial relationship to a very rich and powerful kinsman, one in the upper ten per cent for example, but would not play such a role to a kinsman in the middle quartile of any hypothetical distribution curve of wealth.

This semi-filial role is of course markedly reminiscent of the fagging mentioned for growing boys and seems to be a persistence of the child-hood role of being ordered about on small errands and duties. In greater docility, in more physical labor, and in the rendering of services, the semi-filial role approaches the role expected of women. This is purely my interpretation. There was in Atimelang no thought of comparing the less successful men with women.

SKILLS

There are in addition a number of lesser skills, confidential in nature, for which a man may acquire a certain reputation even though they possess him no social rewards. There follows a list of men with such skills, which I was able to obtain only indirectly in the course of extended observations. It is by no means complete but gives a sample of skills respected by the group. Not all the men listed here were in that somewhat vaguely defined semi-filial category. Those listed who were at the same time obviously men of considerable financial power have been starred.

Lakamoki of Aluriwowai: calendarer; making of wooden mortars.
Rilpada of Dikimpe: a seer.
*Malefani of Dikimpe: burying lepers, making leprosy curses; a minor seer.
Riemun of Dikimpe: butchering animals and dividing meat at feasts.
Maieta of Lawatika: making village guardian spirit carvings.
Padumui of Fulafong: carving.
Fatimui Long Hair: carving; knowledge of ceremonial procedure.
*Maliemi: vigor and violence in debate.
Morgma of Karieta: genealogical information; industrious gardener.
Lakamun of Aluriwowai: skill with bow and arrow; skill in extracting wax from people's ears.
*Atakaliata of Fulafong: making curses to protect fields from theft.
Nicmiu of Fulafong: divination by means of chickens.
Atafani of Atimelang: fencing with clubs.
*Maikaliata of Atimelang: clearing new fields.
Maninuale of Aluriwowai: suspected poisoner.
Padarimang of Dikimpe: a seer.

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426 This he was able
765 to give some five months later with assistance from the tumukun, whose
[571] satellite he was.

Another device to force participation in a feast is used only by kin.
626 This constitutes a kind of capital levy. It consists of openly shooting a
[602] man's pig in its pen. Since pork is never eaten casually, this forces the pig owner into at least a minor feast. For a case of this sort, the death of Fantan's child as told in his autobiography (page 387) serves as an illustration. The same device is used to force a reluctant kinsman into contributing the dead pig to the shooter's feast. That is, a promise to pay is substituted for the pig. This is the process underlying the slaughtering of animals in the wealth contest described previously, and it brings out the advantages of having a large group of kinsmen. Even the accidental death of a pig is often the incentive for a feast or sacrifice. The same holds true if a man shoots a pig that is rooting up his garden after he has warned its owner of the damage it is doing.

There are then a number of ways of forcing a man into feast activities and the meeting of ceremonial obligations if he is reluctant to participate in the prestige game. In the case of individual debts the final recourse, when debtors are delinquent, is forceful seizure or threats of the
426 sort already mentioned. To carry such a procedure through success-
627 fully it is necessary to have a sufficient number of supporting kin or
[602 satellites who will provide the intimidating show of force required.
571] There were many cases of this sort during my eighteen months there. As a rule pigs are the property seized, but even mokos and gongs are subject to seizure, although this means entering and searching another man's house. There is, however, a measure of protection against such procedure. Most financiers with large outstanding credits are careful to keep no very valuable pieces of currency where they can be confiscated. With mokos of lower value one makes every effort to lend them out at credit as soon as possible after receiving them. With mokos of high value, which circulate less freely, it is customary to bury them secretly in some well-concealed spot. Only a man's brother or his sons may be partners to the hiding place.

426 Pigs cannot be disposed of so easily. Instead there is a system of part-
571 nership in pig raising that assures the owner of an ally in case of seizure.
627 Furthermore, it is a way of concealing the extent of animal wealth. The
425 system is to furnish a partner, often in another village, with a piglet to raise. This partner acquires half interest in the animal by giving the owner a stipulated number of payments and by feeding it. If anyone
425 attempts to seize the pig for a debt incurred by either of the co-owners,
571 the partner is of necessity an ally against this forceful procedure. It is a

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way of using wealth to insure support and to enlarge or utilize satellite and kinship loyalties to the full. This same device of farming out pigs prevents every casual passer-by from knowing precisely the animal wealth of any given person. Rarely are more than two pigs kept penned beneath any one house. Maliseni, who was reputed to have an interest in as many as twenty pigs, had only three pigs penned in his dance place complex, where he lived with his three wives, his older brother, and his brother's wife. Probably Maliseni's financial activities and unreliability account in part for his keeping only three pigs penned in the vicinity of his house.

Enough details have been given to indicate the relationship between finance and status and also the fact that all men are to a certain extent forced into wealth-status manipulations that are precarious and aggravating. The lack of standardized currencies, the contest devices and the chicanery associated with wealth, the difficulties and delays attendant upon feasts, the competitive system in which, by definition, only a fraction of the male population can be successful, all contribute to the frustrations and irritations of gaining prestige. In addition, no one can relax his efforts once the goal has been reached. There are too many socially recognized pressures to permit him to withdraw and still maintain his status rating.

A nice example of the pressures and their inescapability is contained in a conversation between Fantan the Interpreter and Malelaka. Fantan, who was hard pressed at the moment, began fantasying, saying, "I should like to raise all my own pigs, and when I needed a gong or moko, I'd sell a pig for it. For my feasts I would use all my own pigs and rice. That is just what I think. It is not really true."

Malelaka, who was some twenty years older than Fantan, answered, "That is what your maternal kinsman Lanmani did. People all envied him, although they were angry with him sometimes. He raised his own pigs and if he wanted a gong or a moko he sold a pig to get it. The other pigs he used for his own feasts. If others came and shot his pig for a feast, he did not let them carry it off (i.e., form a debt with him). He kept it himself. If people came bringing a gong or a moko, he would let them have a pig; but if they just promised to pay, he would say, 'I like meat too. I need this pig for a feast.' After a time people did not ask him for a pig unless they had gongs or mokos; they did not try to shoot his pigs any more. If his affinal kin gave him a pig for a dowry payment, he would use it right away, but he would immediately put another pig in his pen to replace it. When it was big, he would take it to his lineal kin and say, 'If you have a gong or moko, give it to

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764 stench of the body. Delays are usually caused by financial dickerings between lineal kin and the Male Houses.

Once the actual burial gets under way there is an outburst of wailing and a din of beaten gongs. This lasts for the half-hour to an hour that it takes four or six buriers to dig the grave, flex and wrap the corpse, and toss it hastily into the grave, which they fill rapidly. The whole procedure is carried out in an atmosphere of excited tension. Burials accompanied by large financial displays are among the rare events from which children are chased away (often quite ineffectually) because such displays are considered something deleterious and contaminating. When the body is dropped into the grave, the spouse, standing off at some distance, chops a string in two. This symbolically severs their relationship and prevents the ghost's returning for him. The rite, however, is not immediately reassuring since for two or three months after burial the spouse will still carry an unsheathed knife wherever he goes. "They do this until they forget"—which is a measure, perhaps, of the duration of grief.

757 I do not wish to imply that there is no grief, or even that it is slight.
764 I have seen genuine and undoubtedly deeply felt grief at death; but my
771 impression, gathered from a considerable range of material, is in agreement with that from quite other realms of human relationship—that there is no premium on cherishing sentimental ties once they are irrelevant. Expediency and realism are the determinants. People will be concerned over the illness of a kinsman but, once he is dead, they go on to other things. A woman, well-liked in the community, died and her "sisters" wept two hours for her, but then became engrossed in other duties. A mother who lost her third infant in succession was deeply grieved but in twenty-four hours was preoccupied once more by her quarrels with her husband and by her field work. When I bought the crop of the field on which my house was to be built, the woman who owned the field wept. A year later I had the opportunity to ask her about it, and she said in a matter-of-fact fashion, "My twelve-year-old daughter planted that field, and she died just two or three months before you came. When I saw her crop being pulled up, my heart remembered and I cried. But now I don't think of it any more." The expediency and realism in human relationships is basically a shallowness of positive affect.

Balanced against this, enough has been said in other connections to make it clear that the dead are sources of malignant power, i.e., negative
[152] affect. That death feasts may be delayed so long is perhaps a sign that negative affect is also shallow. Certainly by comparison with some